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TO
THE WOOL-COMBERS
OF WARWICK
AND THE
INHABITANTS OF BURY
ST. EDMUNDS.

On the last week's proceedings relative to the Queen ; or, an illustration of " the envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world."

London, Nov. 9, 1820.

MY FRIENDS,

In obedience to your wishes I presented your Addresses to the Queen, on the 18th of October. You will see it asserted in some of the newspapers, that I have been a constant visitor at Brandenburgh House ; that I have been a sort of *adviser* there ; and the New Times has even asserted, that I have placed myself in the *neighbourhood* of that house. Now, I have not, since the Queen came, lived within about *three miles* of that house ; and, the only time that I ever was in it, or in any house occupied, whether occasionally

or otherwise, by her Majesty, was the time when I had the honour of presenting your Addresses, which came to me without any previous knowledge of mine, and without any desire, on my part, to have the office to perform, as is clearly evinced in the fact, that several other Addresses have been sent to me to present in company with other gentlemen, and that, being otherwise engaged, I have not availed myself of those opportunities of going. I have never been introduced to her Majesty ; I have never given even the most distant hint of a wish to be introduced to her ; not a single farthing of her money has ever, either directly or indirectly, found its way into my pocket, or the pocket of any one belonging to me ; but, with what talent I possess, I have laboured, from the very day of her landing, and in every way that I have been able to exert myself, most disinterestedly and most zealously to prevent her destruction. Therefore, while I take to myself not a

particle of the blame due to those who have caused *her defeat*, I may, I trust, put forward a fair claim to my full share of the praise due to those, who have made the struggle produce to the *people* such a complete *triumph* over their bitter and savage enemies, who have now received a blow that they will never recover.

I shall now endeavour to lay before you, a true account of the last week's proceedings relative to the Queen; and those proceedings do, as you will find, furnish a most excellent illustration of that famous **THING**, which is called, "the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world."

You will perceive that, in my last Register I said *that a Bill would pass*. There were people, who would have betted ten to one against the affirmative of this proposition. I said as soon as I saw the evidence of Hownam, and especially when I saw the state in which that evidence had been left by the Queen's lawyers, that a bill would pass. When the subornation of Rastelli had been given in evidence; when Powell had been called up, and had been suffered to go off without even an attack from

the Queen's lawyers; then I was sure that it required some bold, some decisive, some immediate, some open step on the part of the Queen; some instant and resolute step on her part, to prevent the Bill from passing; and this I said, and this I put upon paper, with as much certainty, as I could now write down that the Bill has been read a second time.

When I saw that the Queen took no such step, I was sure the Bill would pass; and the notification of the two famous Vice Chamberlains prohibiting the personal approach of addressers in future, which notification came out in a few days after, appeared to me to be an *invitation* to the passing of the Bill. An actual invitation: it was as much as to say, "You may pass the Bill as soon as you please; for the Queen hereby voluntarily relieves you from even the shadow of apprehension of popular discontent arising out of any thing that you may do against her."

The Queen did not see this; she had no idea of the notification's producing such an effect. Nor do I believe that the two Vice Chamberlains, who are

merely poor things, apparently without a second idea, had any notion of the magnitude of the mischief which they were the humble instruments in producing; but, to every man of discernment that notification was decisive of the fate of the Queen. The mischief had, in great part, been done by the lawyers: they had driven the nail of destruction home to the head; but it might still have been drawn back; therefore, it required the instrumentality of the two Vice Chamberlains to *clench it*.

Every day gives us a clearer view of the intrigue than we had of it the day before; and it is of the utmost importance that we understand it well; and that we shew to our enemies, that they can no longer cajole and deceive us. You remember Mr. Denman's flash-in-the-pan declaration, that he *never would acknowledge any other woman as his Queen!* This was thought to be extremely "*bold*." There were fools to call it even *chivalrous*. But, this declaration, like the jesuits' creed, had a double face; as was perfectly consistent with a foreknowledge that the Queen would be finally degraded from her rank; for, Mr. Denman was in no dan-

ger of being called upon to *acknowledge another Queen*, unless the divorce clause should pass, which, from the very first, no one expected. I do not accuse Mr. Denman of any gift of foresight; and only mean to point out this as an instance of big words, though, at the same time, there is a sufficient reservation as to meaning. We are now upon our guard against these big words. Experience has taught us to depend more upon acts, and less upon words. Let us, therefore, now, with the advantages of this experience, take rather a scrutinising review of the occurrences of the last week; not attempting to draw any conclusion from rumours and hearsays; but solely from what has made its appearance in print. In order to do this, the more to our satisfaction, we must go back as far as the twenty-fifth of October, on which day, it appears to me, the fate of her Majesty (unless something very extraordinary should happen) was signed, sealed and delivered by those two renowned gentlemen, Mr. Keppel Craven and Sir William Gell.

On Wednesday the 25th of October, all wore the outward

appearance of vigour and courage at Brandenburgh House; and, certainly there was no abatement of zeal and of energy on the part of the people. On that day not less, I believe, than thirty addresses were presented. There were numerous processions, consisting of most respectable persons in the middle ranks of life. On this day not less than seventy thousand persons were assembled round the mansion of the Queen. The zeal in her cause, the devotion to her person, might possibly find an adequate return in the gratitude of the heart; but, they admit of no adequate description from the pen or the tongue. Yet, it was on the evening of this very day; it was at the close of this exhilarating, this gratitude inspiring, this heart moving scene; it was at the close of this scene, and on the very spot where it had taken place, that Craven and Gell sat down to pen the cold, the forbidding, the rude notification, though they had still ringing in their ears, the promises, the voluntary promises of support to their mistress, coming from the lips of the disinterested, just, and generous people! I once saw, at Phila-

delphia, a French "lady," as she called herself, curse the Quakers, while she had actually in her mouth, bread purchased with a subscription raised by those very Quakers, she being one of the French emigrants who had fled from St. Domingo. God forbid that I should compare her Majesty to this shocking instance of human ingratitude; but I have no hesitation in saying that even this was surpassed by Craven and Gell, and by those who counselled and took advantage of her Majesty's want of information upon this occasion; for though the "*French Lady*" was at that moment eating the bread given her by the Quakers, she had some reason to ascribe her fallen state to them, seeing that it was *their principles* of hostility to negro slavery, which might have produced the revolt of the negroes, and the present poverty of the "*Lady*;" but, in this case, the supporters of the Queen had never had any share in producing her sufferings and oppressions.— Since her first arrival in England, they had, whether she were here, or in foreign countries, cheerfully laboured for her support, even in splendour, and

in profusion; and they had never, upon any occasion, given their sanction to any measure of any kind tending to make her unhappy or uneasy. Therefore, this act was less excusable; or, rather, more shockingly insulting and ungrateful than the act of the "*French Lady*" at Philadelphia, which I have a thousand times cited as an instance, which would remain without a parallel, as long as nature retained her power in the hearts of human beings.

The Queen was deceived. The whole course of her life proves that this shocking notification must have been got up, as the answer to the Nottingham Address was, without her knowledge. It must have been represented to her, that the people experienced inconvenience and suffering from coming and waiting in the wet and the cold. Her compassionate disposition would make her listen to this; and thus her assent must have been obtained, in the confusion and bustle of the moment, to the issuing of a notification, tending to remove the represented inconvenience and suffering. That this was actually the case becomes evident when we look at the

amended notification of these two sapient Vice-Chamberlains. That I may not be accused of misrepresenting them, I will here insert the notifications, beginning with that of the 25th of October, which, as I observed before, was written, and at Brandenburg House, too, while the rooms of that house were yet echoing with the shouts of the people.

" Mr. K. Craven and Sir William Gell, Vice-Chamberlains
" to the Queen, are commanded
" to announce, that, in consequence of the lateness of the
" season, and the *probable*
" *approach of wet weather*,
" her Majesty *wishes to decline*,
" receiving any future addresses
" *in person* after Monday next,
" the 30th instant. It is nevertheless to be understood that
" her Majesty by no means intends to *exclude* the presentation of such addresses as may
" be at this moment in preparation, and which, if not ready
" by Monday, her Majesty will receive and answer without
" the *ceremony of a formal*
" *deputation*.

" Brandenburg-house, Wednesday,
" October 25."

This notification is every thing that I have before described it to be. The second or amended notification, comes out under date of Friday the 3rd of November, in the following words:

" *Some misunderstanding* having arisen respecting the presentation of Addresses, we are commanded to state, that it is not the intention of her Majesty to *decline* receiving Addresses for the future, nor her wish to *check* that *ebullition* of respect and attachment which has been so universally manifested by the people, and which is so highly gratifying to the feelings of Her Majesty. Her Majesty, aware of the great inconvenience such numerous bodies of people must experience in waiting upon her on account of the lateness of the season, and the distance of Brandenburg House from the Metropolis, will *continue* to receive Addresses by *small deputations* only. An early day will be named for her Majesty's receiving the numerous Addresses already voted, and not presented on Monday last.

" The Hon. KEPPEL CRAVEN, and
 " Sir WILLIAM GELL,
 " Vice-Chamberlains to the Queen.
 " *Brandenburgh House, Nov. 3, 1820.*"

So! a week had taught the new councillors to approach somewhat nearer to good manners, or, at least, towards an absence of rudeness and insolence. The cause of this change we shall probably come at very correctly by-and-bye; but let us here look a little at this notification compared with the other. "*Some misunderstanding* had arisen." This is a

pretty way of beginning a retractation and contradiction.—From the whole composition of these notifications, it is very evident that a critical understanding of the meaning of words is, by no means, inseparable from the office of Vice-Chamberlain; or else we should not hear these gentlemen talk about an *ebullition* of respect and attachment, which are the result of sober thought, and are evinced by steady acts or demonstrations; and not the result of the bubbling or boiling up of a sudden and momentary feeling or passion. But even Vice-Chamberlains are to be supposed to understand the meaning of words which it is impossible for any human being to misunderstand; and, who could misunderstand the words of the former notification, which expressly says, that the Queen wishes to decline receiving any future addresses *in person*? If this do not mean that her Majesty meant that no addressers should come and deliver addresses to herself after the next Monday; if these words have not this meaning, no words in our language have any meaning; and when a man swears to one thing, he may be

looked upon as swearing to another thing, or to nothing at all. Then, as to the second sentence of the notification: that she does not mean absolutely to exclude such addresses as may be *at this moment* (mark the words!) in preparation; she does not mean to *exclude* these altogether; but, *if not ready by the next Monday*, her Majesty will receive and answer them "*without the ceremony of a formal deputation.*" So that this was saying, with as much rudeness as would stop short of absolute insult, that she would receive, after the Monday, *no Address by any deputation at all*, even though they may, at the time of writing the notification, be already in preparation!

Now, then, what says the second notification? Leaving out the uncouthness and bad grammar of the whole thing, leaving these out of the question, what does this second notification say? Why, though the aforementioned Monday is long-passed; notwithstanding that day was on the 30th of October, her Majesty will "*continue* to receive addresses by *small deputations only.*" What this word "*continue*" had to do

here, God only knows; but, this is, I suppose, a mode of writing peculiar to Vice-Chamberlains. The use of the word "*only,*" upon this occasion, must be attributed to the same cause. But, at any rate, we make out clearly that her Majesty *will receive addresses in person*; which is a flat contradiction of what was announced in the first notification; and a flat contradiction, too, of a thing *twice* expressed in that same paper.

What do these gentlemen mean, then, by "*some misunderstanding?*" What do they mean? To whom do they mean to attribute the misunderstanding? Faith, there is no *misunderstanding*. The thing is plain enough. Much too plain. The new councillors had *cast off* the people on the 25th of October; and on the third of November they threw out their bait to get them back again; their success in which is a thing much more to be hoped for than to be expected. But to this I shall return by and bye.

We are here, my friends, endeavouring to *develope a grand intrigue!* An intrigue is worse than an artificial maze or labyrinth. It is a labyrinth of the

most puzzling kind, assisted by the entanglements of brambles and briars, pit-falls, and jack-a-lanterns. We must, therefore, have patience, my friends. We must pick our way; lift our feet up to our knees; advance inch by inch, and look around us at every step.

You will observe, that I look upon the *basis* of the intrigue, and of all the little intrigues, to be, **THE GETTING OF THE QUEEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY.** This has, all along, been the object. We saw that Mr. Brougham was secretly negotiating with the Ministers, to effect this, in July, 1819, upon the prospect of the king's death. In April last, after the king's death, he settled with them, the terms of her continuance abroad. In June, at St. Omers, the bonus and the threat were offered for the same purpose. When, at last, the Queen came, the King sent his Message and Green Bags; and in the message he stated that he had sent it, and that he wished her conduct to be enquired into, *only because she had come to this country.* Even after this the ministers entered into a negotiation with her, offered to give her a yacht, or man of war,

to go abroad in; offered to introduce her as Queen at some foreign court, and to leave her rights untouched, if she would but go abroad. Nay, even when this had failed, the House of Commons, by the hands of a deputation (upon whom it is lamentable to remember that the people *spit* and at whom they threw old quids of tobacco); the House of Commons, by this ever memorable deputation, consisting of Wilberforce, Stuart Wortley, Sir Thomas Ackland, and Corfe Castle Bankes, again pressed her to leave the country; for that was the real object and meaning of their resolutions.

You cannot imagine, then, that the same object is not now as much in view as ever. You have seen in my last Register many circumstances stated, in order to show that an opinion was entertained at Brandenburg House, that, if the Queen would but cast off the people beforehand, the Bill would not be passed.

I also there explained very clearly the measures which the new councillors of Brandenburg House had adopted upon the ground of this persuasion and hope. There was, however, one thing which I omit-

ted; and which I should not have omitted. On the 25th of October, the very day that Messrs. Craven and Gell issued their first notification, an Address was presented to the Queen by a most numerous and respectable body of persons from the parish of St. George, Hanover Square. The persons who prepared that Address appear to have had some misgivings in their mind as to the intentions of the Queen; or, at any rate, they appear to have wished to draw forth a specific *pledge*, that she would not leave the country. Before I go any further, I will insert this Address, begging you to pay attention to the parts marked by *italics*:

THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF ST. GEORGE'S, HANOVER-SQUARE.

" To her Most Excellent Majesty, Caroline, Queen of England, &c.

" We, the undersigned inhabitants of the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, feel ourselves impelled to approach your Majesty with the sincere expression of our most affectionate attachment to your person, of deep regret at your many domestic losses, of our most ardent admiration of your heroic magnanimity, and an unutterable abhor-

rence of that inhuman and dastardly persecution to which your Majesty has been exposed by those who, having forfeited every constitutional claim to the public support, vainly seek to preserve their ill-gotten power by the degradation of our Queen.

" We heartily join in that universal congratulation which has hailed your Majesty's return to the shores of Britain, and most cordially join in the conviction of your Majesty's innocence which now prevails through the British Empire.

" We trust your Majesty will retain a just recollection of the generous promptitude with which the people echoed back your appeal, when, with admirable greatness of soul, your Majesty declared that *you would use all the means that God had given you against the decrees of a too partial tribunal: this appeal, and this alone, has saved your Majesty from destruction.*

" Your splendid example has taught the people that their own safety lies in the adoption and the preservation of those principles which animate your Majesty; and your patriotic council confirms us in the opinion, that if those who are now unfortunately entrusted with authority, shall continue to misrule us, either an unhappy struggle must ensue, or a confirmed despotism, of which your Majesty will be the first, but not the last, victim.

“ With the frankness of free-
 “ men, we remind your Majesty,
 “ that the unbought homage of
 “ millions, which now protects
 “ you on every side, and which
 “ is your only security against
 “ your enemies, will melt away,
 “ and leave you exposed to the
 “ redoubled malignity of your
 “ oppressors, unless you firmly
 “ adhere to those constitutional
 “ principles which your Majesty
 “ has so often and so ably urged
 “ in your admirable replies to the
 “ devoted and affectionate ad-
 “ dresses of our fellow country-
 “ men.

“ We fervently hope that
 “ your Majesty, *by continuing*
 “ *to dwell among us, may not*
 “ *only reign in our hearts, but*
 “ *be an eye witness and a per-*
 “ *sonal partaker of those joys*
 “ *which your Majesty's pre-*
 “ *sence cannot but diffuse around*
 “ *you, and that the remainder of*
 “ *your Majesty's valuable life*
 “ *may be passed in such an un-*
 “ *imbittered tranquillity as may*
 “ in some degree compensate
 “ for the long and cruel injuries,
 “ afflictions, and persecutions,
 “ which your Majesty has been
 “ called upon to endure.”

Now, pay attention to the an-
 swer to this address. You will
 see that this address required a
 specific answer. Look then at
 that answer.

THE QUEEN'S ANSWER TO THE
 ST. GEORGE'S ADDRESS.

“ I have a peculiar satisfaction
 “ in receiving this frank, loyal,
 “ and affectionate Address from

“ the Inhabitants of the Parish
 “ of St. George, Hanover-square.

“ While I have a heart in my
 “ breast, and that heart beats
 “ with the energies of life, or
 “ while memory retains any
 “ hold on my brain, I can never
 “ be unmindful of the singular
 “ magnanimity, disinterested-
 “ ness, and affection, with which
 “ the people have supported me
 “ against the whole power of
 “ my enemies. If the people
 “ had not been with me, what
 “ shield of defence should I
 “ have had against the malignity
 “ of my adversaries? If the
 “ press had not been so power-
 “ fully exerted in my favour,
 “ how could that public opinion
 “ have been excited, which has
 “ proved such a security to me
 “ and such a terror to my ene-
 “ mies? I am convinced that, if
 “ the spirit of the people, aided
 “ by its exertions, had not
 “ erected such a rampart of
 “ strength against the impend-
 “ ing aggressions of tyranny,
 “ my rights would, 'ere this,
 “ have been taken away along
 “ with those of the nation. If
 “ a despotism is established
 “ in this country, the basis
 “ will be laid in the de-
 “ struction of the Queen. If the
 “ Queen can be destroyed with
 “ impunity, what other in-
 “ dividual can be safe?

“ My enemies are the friends
 “ of arbitrary power, but my
 “ friends are the friends of li-
 “ berty. No two interests were
 “ ever more completely identifi-
 “ ed than those of the people
 “ and the Queen: her rights are
 “ their rights; and their free-
 “ dom is her security.”

Here you see the main points of the address are completely evaded. Here is some very elegant writing in this answer. A great deal of warmth and of grateful acknowledgment; but consummated dexterity in evading the two main points of the address. The first point was that of her Majesty's appeal to the people for protection against what the House of Lords might do. The other point was, her *continuing to reside in this country!* Both of these points are wholly overlooked in the answer; and it is impossible not to believe, that those who dictated that answer had not her quitting of the country then in view; and, when we consider that immediately after this answer was given, the notification of Keppel and Gell was penned and sent to the press, it is impossible for us to have a shadow of doubt in our minds that the quitting of the country by the Queen was a thing in the full contemplation of the new Councillors of her Majesty.

Let us now proceed on with our observations as to what has taken place since that time. On the 26th October came out the first notification of Keppel and Gell. On the day when

they wrote that notification the Queen's lawyers closed their defence. The new councillors were at that time what is vulgarly called cock-a-hoop. They thought that Mr. Denman's talking about the charges being shaken away like *dew drops from the lion's mane*; they thought that his exultation at the result of the glorious and well foughten combat, in which he and his brother hero had kept together in their chivalry; they thought that his asserting that Mr. Brougham's giant arm had destroyed the enemies of the Queen, leaving him to discharge only a few random arrows; they, wise gentlemen, thought that all this amounted to a great deal more than a certainty, that *the Bill would not pass!* I told them the contrary, indeed; but let that pass for nothing and let us keep dates in our mind.

On the 26th, 27th, and 28th the Attorney and Solicitor-General made their reply. Still the new Councillors of Brandenburg House seemed to have scouted the idea of the Bill's passing. On Saturday, the 28th, the very next day (mark it well!) *Saxe Cobourg visited the Queen.* On Sunday, the 29th, Lord and Lady Fitzwilliam and

the Duke of Sussex visited her Majesty; and on the next day, out comes a letter in the newspapers from Lord Fitzwilliam's son, Lord Milton, conveying a subscription to the Queen's Plate Committee, expressing his conviction of the Queen's innocence. Now, observe this mass of greatness begins to gather round the Queen simultaneously with the issuing of the repulsive notification of the two Vice Chamberlains.

There can be no doubt that at this time the full expectation at Brandenburgh House was, that the Bill would not pass. It was manifestly intended to receive the last batch of addresses on Monday, the 30th of October; and, after that time to *receive no more in person*. But, when the House of Lords had gone through the debate of the first day upon the Bill, a little light seems to have broken in upon the minds of the new Councillors. During the Tuesday and Wednesday, the 31st of October and 1st of November, they appear to have collected enough of information to convince them that there was some reason to fear that the Bill would pass. It was, therefore, positively stated in the Morning

Chronicle and other papers of the Thursday, that her Majesty was going to the House of Lords that day with a protest. Her Majesty did not go, however; but the Traveller newspaper, of the Thursday evening, published a second edition, to say that the Queen would go to the House with her protest at two o'clock the next day, Friday, the 3d of November. But, behold! when Friday morning came, the Times newspaper announced, that the Queen kept herself confined to her house *on account of the approaching anniversary of the death of her daughter*, which anniversary was the 6th of November. Shockingly disgusting as this pretence was upon the very face of it, it was rendered still more disgusting by her Majesty's actually going to the House on the very next day after the Times had inserted this pretence, and *two days before the arrival of the anniversary of the Princess's death!*

Thus, we bring down the progress of these manœuvres to Saturday the 4th November. On which day appeared the second, or amended, or contradicting notification of Messrs. Craven and Gell. I should observe to

you that on the 3rd November, that is to say, on the second day of the debate on the Bill, the man who did not see that it would pass the second reading must have been nearly an idiot. Therefore, on the evening of that day the amended notification, inviting the people still to come with addresses, was written and sent to the press.

Sunday, the 5th November, was by no means an idle day amongst the politicians in London. Some still thought that the second reading would not pass; but to say the truth, no man could think this that looked at the matter with rational eyes. On Monday, the 6th, it was again notified that her Majesty would go to the House with her protest on the next day. On this Monday the House agreed to the second reading of the Bill. And on this same Monday came out another notification by authority, stating that the next Monday (13th inst.) was appointed for receiving of addresses at Brandenburg House.

Thus, then, the Bill did pass to a second reading, notwithstanding all the speculations of the new Councillors; notwithstanding their having repulsed the

people, and thrown open the folding doors to the tardy nobility. Those Councillors must have been quite disconcerted at finding the Bill to pass thus glibly through its most difficult stage. The Times newspaper of the 8th November, says, that the Queen received the news with a "*look of wild astonishment!*" It says that she was "*almost doubtful of her own senses!*" Whether this be stated on authority or not I cannot say; but, I should not be at all surprised if it were really true; for, who can imagine that she could have expected such a result after all the hopes that had been manifestly excited by her new councillors; or, rather, perhaps, I should say by her *legal advisers*; for these, it would clearly appear, have recently got the ascendancy; which is a thing, though very surprising, yet very common; and nothing is more common than to see persons who have been ruined by lawyers still enamoured of those lawyers.

On Tuesday, the 7th November, her Majesty went to the House of Lords, where she was met by her legal advisers, and from her private room there, sent in her protest in the following words:

PROTEST.

"CAROLINE REGINA.

"TO THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

"The Queen has learnt the decision of the Lords upon the Bill now before them. In the face of Parliament, of her family, and of her country, she does solemnly protest against it.

"Those who avowed themselves her prosecutors have presumed to sit in judgment on the question between the Queen and themselves. Peers have given their voices against her who had heard the whole evidence for the charge, and absented themselves during her defence.

"Others have come to the discussion, from the Secret Committee, with minds biassed by a mass of slander, which her enemies have not dared to bring forward in the light.

"The Queen does not avail herself of her right to appear before the Committee, for to her the details of the measure must be a matter of indifference; and *unless the course of these unexampled proceedings should bring the Bill before the other branch of the Legislature, she will make no reference whatever to the treatment experienced by her during the last twenty-five years.*

"She now most deliberately, and before God asserts, that she is wholly innocent of the crime laid to her charge, and she awaits with unabated confidence the final result of this unparalleled investigation.

"CAROLINE REGINA."

Thus ends this series of

measures, which her Majesty had been advised to adopt, and which present to our view an instance of vacillation almost without a parallel, and so unexpected in a person, whose character has been marked by such promptitude and decision upon all former occasions.

There is very little in this protest. Its object is very obscure, and unless we gather from that portion of it which I have pointed out by italics; unless we gather from this a sort of *threat*, the document really has no meaning at all; or, at least, no meaning which could by any possibility tend to render service to her Majesty's cause.

Her Majesty is here advised to say, that if the Bill be finally rejected in the House of Lords, *she will abstain from recrimination!* Who would have advised this! What wretched head did this advice proceed from! It really was telling the Lords in so many words: *if you pass the Bill I will make an exposure that shall do infinite mischief to the kingly part of the government;* and, therefore, it was almost compelling them to pass the Bill. It was placing them in a similar situation to that in which she herself had

been placed at St. Omers by Lord Hutchinson. It was, in short, daring them to do that, which, if they did not do, it would make the injustice of what they had already done manifest to the whole world. What a wretched man must he have been who could advise the uttering of this threat!

Thus, then, it becomes clear as day light, first, that these Councillors had, for a considerable time, indulged the fond and foolish hope that the Bill might be prevented from passing by the Queen withdrawing herself from the people. Next, it is manifest that, to the very last, the great object was to prevent the passing of the Bill; and, I am firmly convinced that an intrigue had been going on to get the Queen out of the country, upon condition that the Bill should not pass. She has been led to believe, that if the people were repulsed by her beforehand, the Bill would not pass. Hence the notification of the Chamberlains; hence the evasive answer to the Saint George's Address; hence the seclusion from public view; hence all the measures tending to that fatal point, the sepa-

ration of the people from the Queen.

This point having been accomplished, the Bill went cheerly on; and without the smallest danger of popular commotion from the passing of it. And now let me draw your attention in the first place to the progress of the Bill through the House of Lords. When we have seen that progress, we shall be able to call back our ideas to the main point, namely, *whether it be likely that the Queen will or will not be got out of the country.*

The Lords came to a division upon the second reading of the Bill on Monday the 6th November. There were 95 against it, and 123 for it. The Lords who voted for it were the following. I insert the names upon this occasion, because this will be a memorable decision:

Lords Prudhoe

Harris
Ross (Glasgow)
Meldrum (Aboyne)
Hill.
Combermere
Hopetoun
Gambier
Manners
Ailsa (Cassilis)
Lauderdale
Sheffield
Redesdale
St. Helens
Northwick
Bolton
Bayning
Carrington
Dunstanville

Lords Rous

Saltersford (Courton)
 Stewart of Garlies (Galloway)
 Stuart (Moray)
 Douglas (Morton)
 Grenville
 Suffield
 Montagu
 Gordon (Huntly)
 Somers
 Rodney
 Middleton
 Napier
 Colville
 Gray
 Saltoun
 Forbes

Bishops Cork

Landaff
 Peterborough
 Gloucester
 Chester
 Ely
 St. Asaph
 St. David's
 Worcester
 London

Viscounts Exmouth

Lake
 Sidmouth
 Melville
 Curzon
 Sydney
 Falmouth
 Hereford

Earls Limeric

Ross
 Donoughmore
 Belmore
 Mayo
 Longford
 Mount Cashel
 Kingston
 St. Germain's
 Brownlow
 Whitworth
 Verulam
 Cathcart
 Mulgrave
 Lonsdale
 Oxford
 Manvers
 Nelson
 Powis
 Liverpool
 Digby
 Mount Edgecumbe
 Strange (Athol)
 Abergavenny
 Aylesbury
 Bathurst

Earls Harcourt

Chatham
 Warwick
 Portsmouth
 Graham (Montrose)
 Pomfret
 Macclesfield
 Aylesford
 Coventry
 Rochford
 Abingdon
 Shaftesbury
 Cardigan
 Balcarras
 Winchelsea
 Stamford
 Bridgewater
 Home
 Huntingdon

Marquisses Conyngham

Thomond
 Headfort
 Anglesea
 Northampton
 Camden
 Exeter
 Cornwallis
 Buckingham
 Lothian
 Queensberry
 Winchester.

Dukes Wellington

Northumberland
 Newcastle
 Rutland
 Beaufort.

Lord Privy Seal.**Lord President.****Archbishop Tuam.****Chancellor.****Archbishop Canterbury.****H. R. H. Duke of Clarence.****H. R. H. Duke of York.*****The following voted against the Bill.*****Lords Breadalbane**

Erskine
 Arden
 Ellenborough
 Alvanley
 Loftus (Ely)
 Fitzgibbon (Clare)
 Calthorpe
 Dawney (Downe)
 Yarborough
 Dundas
 Selsea
 Mendip (Clifden)
 Auckland
 Gage

Lords Fisherwick (Donegal)

Amherst
 Kenyon
 Sherborne
 Berwick
 Ashburton
 Bagot
 Walsingham
 Dynevor
 Foley
 Hawke
 Sandridge (Argyle)
 Ducie
 Holland
 Grantham
 King
 Clifton (Darnley)
 Howard of Effingham
 Say and Sele
 Dacre
 Zouche
 Clinton
 Audley
 De Clifford
 Belhaven.

Viscounts Granville

Anson
 Dancan
 Hood
 Leinster (Duke of)
 Torrington
 Bolingbroke.

Earls Blessington

Caledon
 Enniskillen
 Farnham
 Gosford
 Carrick
 Morley
 Minto
 Harewood
 Grey
 Romney
 Rosslyn
 Carnarvon
 Mansfield
 Fortescue
 Grosvenor
 Hillsborough (Downshire)
 Delawar
 Ilchester
 Darlington
 Egremont
 Fitzwilliam
 Stanhope
 Cowper
 Dartmouth
 Oxford
 Roseberry
 Jersey
 Albemarle

Earls Plymouth

Essex
 Thanet
 Denbigh
 Suffolk
 Pembroke
 Derby.
 Marquisses Bath
 Stafford
 Lansdowne.

Dukes Portland

Brandon (Hamilton)
 Devonshire
 Bedford
 Grafton
 Richmond
 Somerset.

Archbishop of York

H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester.

Some of the writers of the day have taken upon them to make *distinctions* upon this occasion. They have vaunted the high honour, the excessive purity, and even the great property, of the Lords on one side; and they have, in a style almost jacobinical or radical, talked of the Noble persons on the other side. I shall presume to take no such liberties; for, if I make at most about five exceptions, I do (so help me God!), think the whole lot to be perfectly equal, one to the other, in every quality with which we, the people, have any thing to do. I believe them to be all equally independent; equally honest; equally pure; equally just and equally humane. What right have I to dare to trumpet forth the praises of one

side any more than those of the other side, when I find plenty on both sides, who cordially united in passing the Acts of March 1817 and those of December 1819? Poh! Away with all this stuff! Away with all this impudent and senseless balderdash, about the motives of this Lord, the qualities of that Lord, the heart of this, and the head of that. I am as able to form an estimate of them as any man that I know; and I solemnly declare that, with the trifling exceptions before mentioned, I think their Lordships to be upon a perfect equality in point of goodness.

The Times Newspaper, which declares its determined enmity to every thing of a radical cast: This supporter of the Throne, and the Aristocracy, says, "That the earth never contained female purity, against which a greater majority of this House might not have been obtained by the same arts." It says, that "there are families of those who have voted against the Queen, that absorb immense quantities of the public money;" and it further says, that it knows not whether it ought to congratulate or to condole with the

Queen on this decision of the House of Lords! This is the language of the upholders of aristocracy; this is the language of a professed enemy of the Radicals. For my part, who am a Radical, I neither use nor adopt such language; and I do know whether I ought to congratulate or condole with the Queen upon this decision. I know that it would not have been a subject of condolence, but of congratulation, if the proper course had been pursued: if a proper answer had been given to the St. George's address, and if the notification of Craven and Gell had never been issued; but as things now stand, not to condole with her Majesty, is to discover complete folly, or a total want of feeling.

The Bill having gone to a second reading on the 6th of November, the House went into a committee upon it on the 7th. Some little alterations were made in the preamble; and on the 8th of November, the House decided upon what has been called the Divorce clause; that is to say, the clause dissolving the marriage between the Queen and the King. Here a very curious scene took place. The Ministers who had brought in

the Bill, found that they could not carry it with this divorce clause in it. They said that they had discovered that many good people objected to that clause on a *religious* score. Several Peers had said that they should vote for the second reading of the Bill, only upon an understanding, that the divorce clause should be got rid of in the committee. Upon this understanding they have voted for the second reading; and it is possible that this might have full as much weight with the Ministers as the opinions of those religious people to whom they had been listening with such obliging attention. Then, if the divorce clause passed, our gracious Sovereign might possibly *take a second wife*; and that second wife might have a child or children. This must necessarily operate to the exclusion of the Duke of York from the Throne. The Duke is now a widower, too. He may marry again; and the next marriage may possibly be more fruitful than the last. So that, this Bill, with the divorce clause in it, must be considered as a Bill injurious, by possibility, at least, to this illustrious Duke, who is scarcely less dear to the nation

than our most religious and gracious King himself.

Here was matter for deep cogitation with the Ministers. Then as to the *religion* of the thing, it appears to have been a very doubtful matter, the Bishops being equally divided upon the subject, and Scripture being quoted in support of the opinions on both sides. The Times newspaper has, indeed, asserted that there is not a *single man of learning* amongst the Bishops, and that they are *weaker than so many women*. But, though this paper be such a staunch enemy of the radicals and so stout and able a supporter of the hierarchy; and such a terrible champion against blasphemy; we must not believe implicitly all that it says about the ignorance and feebleness of the Bishops, who, whether learned or unlearned, whether feeble or strong minded, have *votes*; and those votes it was desirable, if possible, for the ministers to secure on their side.

The Ministers having resolved, in their minds, to throw out the divorce clause, it appeared evident, one would have thought, that they had the power to do it, seeing that they would, in this case, naturally be joined by all

those who had opposed the Bill altogether, on the question of the second reading; that is to say, by Lord Grey, and those who voted with him against the second reading. But (and now mark!) these Lords took another turn. Oh! no! said they! If you will have the Bill, you shall have it divorce clause and all! If you will have any of it, you shall have enough of it. Just as a wag, who once saw a Common Council-man pocket the half of a plumb pudding, at a city feast, took up the boat and poured *the sauce* in upon it. In this sort of mess was the thing left on Wednesday the 8th inst. when the House adjourned; and, as it has not met to day, this paper will go to the press before the result can possibly be known. It is possible that this Bill may be lost upon a third reading. But, there are various ways of going to work to effect the purpose which the Ministers have in view. Leaving these for the present, let us now consider how the intrigue is likely to work towards the grand point, the *getting of the Queen out of the country*.

The parliament has now the power in it's hands of doing pretty nearly what it pleases

with regard to the Queen. The Bill, if passed, may then go to the Lower House and be sent back amended without the divorce clause. No ground is lost by the Ministers. They stand on the vantage ground, and, they are all bastards to a man; they have not a single drop of the blood of the Jenkinsons and Ryders left in them, if they do not profit from what they have gained.

If they could now get the Queen out of the country by throwing out the Bill and putting a stop to all further proceedings against her, their object is gained. For, what did they ask at first? Why, merely the keeping of her out of the country; and this was all that the King asked; for he sent down the Green Bags *only because the Queen had come to England*. If she be got away, therefore, the prosecution will have answered its purpose; and that, too, without any blame being able to be stuck upon the Ministers by their opponents in parliament, seeing that the House of Lords have actually found her guilty. The Milan commission will also stand clear, and will, in fact, have effected it's object; and, the Whigs may now take

an everlasting leave of all hope of getting a share in the plunder.

Therefore, the Ministers are what the bankers call *tiled in*, and may carry on with great confidence their scheme for getting the Queen away. She, indeed, will suffer. She will go, even if the proceedings stop where they are, with a verdict of guilty upon her head; though I am convinced of her perfect innocence. She cannot now be introduced as Queen at any foreign court; nor can she have a yacht or a man of war to go in; while for shame's sake the sum of money allowed her must be very scanty.

Yet, I verily believe that the Ministers firmly expect that the Queen will leave the country; and I further believe that there are persons who have been negotiating for this purpose. There was a remarkable expression, which dropped from Lord de Clifford during the debate on the second reading. I took down his very words, which were as follow: "It is supposed, that her Majesty's residence in this country, would be attended with evil consequences; but, I do not believe that her Majesty will remain here. I do

"not believe that it is her Majesty's wish to remain in England."

Now, I beg you to observe, my friends, this Lord is the son, I believe, of that Lady de Clifford who had the care of the Princess Charlotte several years ago; and who has, probably, some direct means of coming at what are her Majesty's real inclinations as to this matter. At any rate his words had an ominous sound. He spoke not like a man who merely stated a surmise; not like a man who expressed a belief founded on the reason of the case, but like a man who really *knew* something of the fact, with regard to which he expressed his belief.

However, this point must now soon be settled. Next Monday is the day for settling this point. On that day an address is going to be carried to her Majesty from the populous parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields and St. George's, Bloomsbury. That address, which now is lying for signatures, expressly calls upon the Queen, for a pledge not to quit the country; and if her Majesty do not, under all the present circumstances, give that pledge, we may rest satisfied that her worst enemies have at

last prevailed; and that she is ready to yield herself a sacrifice to her implacable, cruel, and dastardly foes.

It is useless here to anticipate the humiliation and disgrace that she may have to endure. It is useless to anticipate the manner and the circumstances of her going away, and the miserable end which will, in all human probability, attend her; deprived, as she will be, of her only support. Let us rather indulge the hope that it is not yet too late for her to reject the advice of these new and evil councillors. Her Majesty has great claims upon the gratitude of the Radicals, at any rate; for she has done us a service greater than any words can describe. Let what will take place, I shall always say that she is the only royal personage to promote whose welfare I have any desire at all beyond that which is imposed upon me by the laws. Towards her Majesty I feel, and we all ought to feel, a great deal of personal respect and attachment; and if we cannot do her all the good that we would wish to do, we are bound to do her every species of service that lies in our power. She has humbled our enemies;

she has exposed them to ten thousand times more scorn and detestation than before existed against them. They merited the united curses of the whole human race; but it remained for this gallant little woman to cause utterance to be given to those curses. Therefore, to the Queen is our gratitude due; and I, for one, shall always say, "blessed amongst women be Caroline Queen of England."

Oh! What a chevy; what a chace; what a hunting; what a baiting, what a worrying, and what a badgering, has she given the corrupt vagabonds! We, poor devils, had been barking at them; we had been snarling and snapping, and bow-wowling for years. We had made some ground; we had hauled them about a good deal, and partially tore their garments, exposed their nakedness, and covered them here and there with suitable dirt. But she, God Almighty bless her! has tumbled them down neck and heels, peeled them to the very skin, and dragged them through the kennel. Therefore, my friends, let us never forget her. Let us overlook every thing that shall ap-

pear to us as error in her conduct. Let us ascribe every error that she may commit to the designing and evil-minded men that get about her. Let us always resent her wrongs as if they were our own. Let us consider that, though she has so many great qualities, she is still but a human being; and that it is not given to mortals to be at all times upon their guard against the arts that may be put in practice against them. Let us always bear in mind that our children's children will reap the benefit of the immense good which she has done us. We all live in hopes of seeing the day when our enemies will be laid at our feet; and, when that day comes, I trust there is not a man of us that will forget the assistance which she has given us in overcoming and laying low those atrocious enemies,

I am, my Friends,

Your most obedient and
most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. You have seen, my friends, that the *Times* newspaper has been working like a Turk for these last four months, in close conjunction with the

Radicals, on the side of her Majesty, the Queen. It was its interest to do this; but, it begins to smell danger. It knows it has a number of sins upon its head; and Mr. Walter is aware that the placing of his sisters' names at the stamp office may possibly not save his bacon. He, therefore, in his paper of Monday last, begs pardon of the Ministry, in what he deems the manner most likely to insure success: that is to say, by *abusing*, as *he thinks*, the *Radicals* generally, and particularly *me*, whom he calls *their "Corypheus."* What an unlucky name for Mr. Walter! How dangerous for an illiterate man to affect to be learned! "The *Corypheus*," says a French writer on the Grecian Theatre; "The *Corypheus*, that is to say, "the principal person who conducted the Chorus, came forward at the head of the rest, "in whose name he spoke, "whether in giving useful "advice or salutary instructions; whether to maintain "the cause of innocence and "virtue, to be the depository "of secrets, or to punish a "mockery of religion, or, in "short, to perform in all these "characters at one and the

“ same time: indeed, properly
 “ speaking, the Chorus was the
 “ honest man of the Drama, and
 “ the Corypheus was the lead-
 “ er of the Chorus.” *—Thank
 you, Mr. Walter! The Radicals
 certainly deserve this lofty
 eulogium; and, as your compli-
 ment far exceeds my deserts at
 present, I will, by double dili-
 gence in the Radical cause,
 endeavour to bring those de-
 serts up to the standard of the
 compliment.

* “ Le Coryphée, c'est à dire, la
 “ principale personne qui conduisoit le
 “ Chœur, entre dans l'action à la tête
 “ des autres, au nom desquelles elle
 “ prit la parole, soit pour donner d'u-
 “ tiles conseils ou de salutaires instruc-
 “ tions, soit pour prendre le parti de
 “ l'innocence et de la vertu, soit pour
 “ être le depositaire des secrets, et le
 “ vengeur de la religion méprisée, soit
 “ enfin pour soutenir tous ces charac-
 “ tères ensemble: en effet le Chœur
 “ étoit, à proprement parler, l'honnête
 “ homme de la pièce.”—*Theâtre des*
Grecs par Le P. Brumoy. Printed
 at Paris, in 13 volumes, 1785, Vol. I.
 page 102.

TO THE
 PEOPLE OF MIDDLETON,
 LANCASHIRE.

MY FRIENDS,

The letter which I addressed
 to you last week respecting
 Edward Harboard, has brought
 me a letter, containing an ex-
 tract from the will of Lord Ver-
 non, the father-in-law of this
 Harboard. The writer of the
 letter, which letter I do not in-
 sert at full length only because
 it is *too true*; and because *the*
greater the truth the greater
the libel. The writer of the let-
 ter tells me that he has seen this
 Lord's will and codicils, in the
 Prerogative Court; and that
 the codicil number seven, bear-
 ing date the 22d August, 1812,
 contains the following most
 “ constitutional” and anti-radi-
 cal bequest:

“ I, George Venables, Lord
 “ Vernon, do give and bequeath
 “ unto my son-in-law, the Hon.
 “ Edward Harboard, a sum not
 “ exceeding 5,000*l.* towards the
 “ purchase of a seat in Parlia-
 “ ment.”

This is a specimen of the na-
 ture of that famous thing which
 is the “ envy of surrounding na-
 tions and the admiration of
 “ the world!” This Lord Ver-

non was a *Whig*! This was one of the "constitutional" gentlemen. One of those that say that no reform is necessary; and that every thing is as well as it can be. Only observe to what a pass a man must have come before he could have put this in his *will*! These are pretty people to circulate bibles, and to rail against what they call blasphemy. He was possibly upon his death-bed when this was written. This bequest was made, you will perceive, in a document, which began with the words: "IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN!" So that here were the horrible words, expressing a bequest to be expended in accomplishing a corrupt purpose, and in effecting a gross and infamous violation of those laws, of which the testator was one of the guardians: here was this thing done under a most solemn invocation of the name of God!

But, again, I say blessed be the good little Queen, who has done so many good things for us, and who amongst her other good deeds, has been the cause of this thing coming to light.

Edward Harbord will probably begin to think by this time, that he would have done

well to keep his saucy letter to himself; and, at any rate, you have gained, by your upright and manly conduct in this business, information sufficient to make you hesitate in future before you believe to be a "sincere reformer" every man that pretends to be such.

I am,

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

"THE GREAT CAPTAIN OF THE AGE."

Amongst great numbers of very pleasing incidents which have occurred since the arrival of her Majesty, the Queen, there have been some of a contrary character. Amongst these are the daily transactions at Bow-street, in consequence of hisings, hootings, groanings, and peltings of august personages going to or coming from that august assembly who have exhibited such exemplary attention to the evidence of Majocchi, Demont, and Barbara Krantz; and one of whom discovered such an amiableness of disposition, as even to claim the honour of an acquaintance with Mr. Powell. These hootings, hisings, and groanings, have been employed, it seems, by way

of salutation to divers Noble personages; and especially, according to the Bow-street account, to the Duke of York, the Marquis of Anglesea, and Duke of Wellington, commonly called the "*great Captain of the Age.*" Some time ago, a man, or rather a radical, I suppose, was committed to jail for a month for *assaulting and insulting* this noble person. And now it appears that whole lots of men, or rather radicals, have been taken up and committed, or held to bail, some for saluting with hisses and groans, the Duke of York, the Marquis of Anglesea, and the great Captain; and some for pelting them with mud, as they were going from the House of Peers.

To talk of *law* with regard to what passes near a spot where footways are stopped up and barricadoes put across the streets and people forcibly prevented from passing along the highways. To talk of law, in such a case, would be nonsense; else I should beg leave to observe, to the Magistrates at Bow-street, that it is no breach of the law, to hiss or groan in the open-street. To fling mud is indeed a different matter; and it is perfectly distressing to hear,

that one of the eyes of the great Captain of the Age was *actually closed up with mud* on Tuesday evening last. It appears that all one side of his face was bedaubed; but that one eye was actually closed with the uliginous matter, coming, probably, from the hand of a radical!

I know not what it is that has caused the radical resentment to move in this particular direction, but certain it is that the great Captain has been a favorite object of that resentment. However, if he have not the love of the radicals, he has his fair portion of the fruit of the sweat of their brows. Doubtless, he amply deserves all he gets; but a man that gets so much may easily console himself under circumstances like those above-mentioned. It has been said that prophets are not honoured in their own country; and surely great Captains, great as they may be, need not break their hearts, if they have to submit to a similar fate; especially when they consider how fat a trade their's is, compared to that of a prophet. If the great Captain can look with envy to the profound humility with which the poor creatures on the Con-

minent bow to military chiefs, he should, at the same time, look at the other side of the picture, and see how scanty, compared with his, is the pay of those military commanders. The book of Peerage, in recording the feats of this great Captain, says, that a "*due measure*" of gratitude for his services "could not have been rendered him, *but the nation did it's best.*" From the modesty of this observation, we can be at no loss to guess at the pen from which it dropt. Not *it's best*, for the nation might have given up *all* it's revenues to this consummate Captain!

When we look at these things and then turn to the face covered, and the eye closed up with mud, the contrast is not less singular than it is distressing. Vote upon vote of thanks by the Lords and by the Commons; vote upon vote of money and estates; title upon title till the bare enumeration of the titles fill up a long and broad entire page of a book; and after all this to see the mud come slap up against the face, and to close up the eye in spite of a guard of horse-soldiers, and in spite of another guard of mounted police: to behold this is enough,

if the exhortation of our Bishops and priests were not enough, to guard our hearts against "all the pomps and vanities of this wicked world."

SIGNOR WAITHMAN.

This gentleman is coming out again with his wonder working arts. In 1817 he advertised his first exhibition at the Freemasons' Tavern, after having once already "*retired from Public life.*" The Signor is now come forth in what he calls his Ministerial capacity, having tried his legislative capacity, to the great disappointment of his foolish friends, and the greater amusement of those who always laughed at him. Those friends who, perhaps, are just as sincere as himself, have always insisted that he was a staunch *friend to Reform*. I always knew the contrary, and have always said it; and the truth of my saying the Signor has now proved.

A requisition for a County Meeting has been sent to him and his brother Sheriff. The object of the Meeting was stated by the requisitionists to be to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the

House of Commons, for a constitutional reform in the representation of the people in parliament. The requisition or requisitions, purported to be signed by freeholders of the County; and the following is the answer which the Signor and his associate sent to the gentleman who presented the requisition:

"Gentlemen,—Having considered the several papers presented to us on Monday the 6th instant, and also others, transmitted some days previously by Major Cartwright, requesting us to convene a County Meeting, for taking into consideration the propriety of Petitioning the House of Commons for a constitutional Reform of the Representation of the People in Parliament, we beg, in reply, to say, that fully appreciating the sacred right of petitioning, we shall feel it to be a duty to convene a Meeting of the County whenever we are called upon by a Requisition *regularly and respectably* signed for that purpose. But the papers delivered to us appear to have been circulated and signed in a manner so *unusual and irregular*, that we do not feel ourselves justified in convening the great body of the Freeholders of

"this extensive County there-
"on.

"ROBERT WAITHMAN,
"JAMES WILLIAMS,

"Sheriff of the County of Middlesex.
"Nov. 8, 1820."

This answer exhibits the Signor in his true light. Here is a shuffle; here is arrogance; here is empty vanity; here is the true Jack in office. What does he mean by *regularly* and *respectably* signed? The paper was signed with a pen and ink to be sure. The words were upon paper to be sure; and without having seen them, I will pledge my life that they were in better grammar than the Signor, without assistance, is able to put upon paper. What then does he mean by *regularly* signed? Did he want to have the requisition written upon law paper; or upon parchment; did he want it to be stamped, or to have the great seal dangling to it? Did he want a round robbin instead of having the names placed one under the other; or did he want it to resemble his packets of goods, the names on the outside and the commodities within? Were there any requisites deficient as to dryness or humidity of the signatures? Was it, in short, necessary for the names to be *written over*

night that the ink might look dry in the morning?

But, regularity is not sufficient for the Signor. He and his associate, who is a member of the Bible Society, and carries on, luckily, the sister-trade of *selling paper fit to make Bibles of*: the Signor and this pious associate must have *respectability*, too, without laying down a rule or measure of that respectability. They do not say whether the respectability is to be measured by the rent-roll of the freeholder, or weighed against his purse. They do not say whether it is to consist of money or of character; whether the evidences of it be to be found in fair and plain dealing, or in *trafficking in smuggled goods*, and in making a compromise for the offence by a barter, so much political principle for so much remission of fine. They do not say whether the evidence of respectability be to consist of buying and selling in the usual fair and open manner, or of carrying on a species of traffick little above that of common sharpers. They do not say whether the signs of respectability are to be sought for in men's coming forward and plainly stating their political

principles; or whether it be best evinced by letting out half a word at a time, keeping the rest in reserve, and thus carrying on a sort of "*cutting and ticketing trade*" in politics. In the absence of all rule, all fixed principle, all standard, how are men to know; how are the freeholders of Middlesex to know, what the Signor and his associate may mean by *respectability*?

It is said, and incredible as the thing would be of any other man, I can believe it of the Signor; it is said, though modesty is shocked and decency stops the nose at it; it is said that the Signor actually aims at a re-occupation of one of the seats in Parliament for the City of London! This refusal, then, to call a Meeting for Reform, is a declaration on his part that he is worthy of the friendship of the enemies of that measure. We shall see him play pretty tricks; but he will play them very awkwardly. It will be an exhibition like that of the Ass attempting to imitate the blandishments of the Spaniel; and I should not wonder if the fruit of the attempt were literally the same. Certain it is that the Signor's expectation

will be disappointed. The Aristocracy of the City will never trust him; he is now distrusted by the real friends of Reform and at the end of his efforts he will find nobody to support him, but the few low place-hunting things that now draggle along at his heels. The Signor, wrapped up in his own matchless vanity, does not perceive, that the public mind is upon the expansion in the City of London, as well as elsewhere. He does not see, that scores of young men are crowding forward to thrust him from his stool. His vanity keeps him always in the same swollen state, and he imagines that every thing around him is stationary. He does not perceive, that, though the dunghill still remains, he cannot remain to be the cock of that dunghill. He is, in short, like all other men of intolerable vanity, stultified by his own opinion of his superior talent and wisdom.

Though it is man's first duty to know himself, to few men is it given faithfully and cheerfully to perform that duty. But, when events; when experience; when the public voice; when undeniable facts, urged upon us by every one we

hear; when any, and especially when all of these combined, have taught us to know ourselves, we are surely inexcusable if we still wilfully and obstinately persist in this almost criminal ignorance. I could excuse the Signor, applauded as he used to be at Common Councils and Common Halls. There was, indeed, some little contrivance; some little tricking made use of to insure these plaudits: but, no matter; he got them; and I could excuse him for clapping his hands together, turning about him as he spoke, acting the orator, and thinking he was one. I could excuse him, though never did sense or grammar follow the traces of his pen; though never did capital letter, point, semicolon, or comma, make its appearance amidst the signs of his erudition: I could excuse him for daring to attempt to draw up resolutions, petitions and addresses; for the Solomons of the city thought him a miracle of learning. Nay, till he had actually *tried it*, I could excuse him for thinking himself qualified to render his country service in parliament, where God knows, a man, even a modest man, might expect to meet few

superiors either with the pen or the tongue. But, after having tried it; after having sitten in parliament for two or three sessions; after having been there while those most important subjects were discussed, the *cash payment* and the *new libel bills*; after having sitten there while these interesting subjects were agitated, and while one would have thought it was impossible for a tongue to have been still, if that tongue had connection with either brain or heart; after this, after having spent the time of a whole parliament without making any other use of the powers given him by the Livery than that of franking his bills for bandannas and shawls: after this admonition from experience, from feeling, if he had had any feeling; from the universal voice; from those coughings within doors and those groanings and shakes of the head without doors; after all this, is it not an instance of most shocking vanity, of obstinate and wilful ignorance of self, to entertain a wish again to become a member of parliament; again to run the gauntlet through coughings, groanings, and laughings, that ought to drive a man to the shores of the

island, and send him, like the herd of swine, headlong into the sea?

However, we have at present, to look at the Signor as a Sheriff. We have seen him begin his office in precisely the manner that I should have expected. Let us mark his progress. Should he do any thing praiseworthy I shall be very glad; and, as an earnest of my good-will towards him, I will now press upon him one piece of advice.

The Signor, I hear, expresses his determination not to let his politics interfere or intermix themselves with his duties as Sheriff. This is nonsense, to be sure, as applied to the above case of the requisition; but the resolution of the Signor is very laudable. Politics are out of his beat. He knows nothing of the matter; and my advice is that he never attempt to have any thing to do with it again. His experience in Parliament ought to have taught him that the corruptions and malversations in the municipal body to which he belongs, and of which corruptions and malversations there is no lack: his experience in Parliament ought to have taught him that, at home, in the city,

if he would honestly undertake it, he would find plenty of employment for the rest of his life. I exhort him, therefore, now that he is in office, to begin heartily and resolutely to cleanse the filth away from around his own door; to endeavour to keep that spot clean, and never, on any account, to attempt to travel beyond it. The Signor has, I dare say, too tender a conscience to endeavour to make use of his office of Sheriff for the purpose of securing a seat in Parliament: if he had not, it might be necessary again to assure him, as I now most positively do, that the endeavour would be attended by defeat and mortification.

If the Signor should, amongst his other *feelings*; for he is a great man for feeling things; he never says that he *thinks* any thing: if the Signor should *feel* offended at any thing that I have said here, let him take the blame to himself. It was his duty, as Sheriff, to call a County Meet-

ing, upon a requisition of freeholders, without any comments on their degrees of respectability, as he chooses to call it. He has not performed this duty. He has insulted the freeholders who sent the requisition; and he must not be surprised if insolence draws forth chastisement.

The appellation of *Signor*, as applied to our famous City-Orator, took its rise from his memorable exhibition at the Freemasons' Tavern, in 1817, when he had the modesty to issue his summons to "the *nobility* and "*gentry*" to meet at that place, *himself in the chair*, to form an *union* for Reform, upon "*moderate triennial* principles." He found only about a score or two of citizens and the *waiters* for an audience. Upon this occasion the following *placard* was issued. I republish it for the benefit of the public, who will thus acquire a sort of foretaste of the Signor's surprising powers.

“ SIGNOR WAITHMAN.

“ The wonder-working *Signor Waithman* has the honour to inform the Whig Nobility and Country Gentlemen of the *United Kingdom*, to whose gratification he exclusively devotes his surprising talents, that he has opened his exhibitions for the season.

“ *Signor Waithman*, although not accustomed to sound his own praise, would yet merit their censure, did he not assure them that, by devoting more than twenty years of his life to the study of the sublime science of *Legerdemain*, he far eclipses that profound scholar and almost inimitable master of the art, *Von Katterfelto*.

“ If, like *Numa*, who performed his wonders in legislation by the divine inspirings of the nymph *Egeria*; or, like *Socrates*, who, by communing with an incorporeal familiar, became an oracle of wisdom; the great *Katterfelto* established a superior reputation by

means of his nine-lived *black cat*: so the wonder-working *Signor Waithman* has attained to still higher excellence in *Katterfelto's* own profession, by means of his immortal *black Fox*.

“ *Signor Waithman* has already given a few specimens of his genius, by demonstrating that the best mode of displaying the beauty of the Constitution, is by *keeping it out of sight*; of manifesting its *simplicity*, is by representing it as *complex*; and of inspiring an *ardour on its behalf*, by suppressing a *knowledge of what it is*.

“ But the master-piece of the *Signor Waithman*, whereon he desires to found a name, which, by the amateurs of *wonder-working*, shall never be forgotten, is this, that over the bottle at a tavern, where a sumptuous dinner is served up at a guinea a-head, while a people taxed with paupers are without any dinner at all, he proves to the conviction of any

auditory who are already of the same mind, that UNION in pursuit of Parliamentary Reform, is best promoted by starting, in direct opposition to Five Hundred Thousand intelligent men who have already petitioned for ANNUAL Parliaments, which are the 'ancient constitution, and the birth-right of Englishmen,' a proposition in favour of TRIENNIAL Parliaments, which are *not* the Constitution, and, when first introduced, were an *innovation*, a treasonable stab to the Constitution, and a wicked violation of that 'birth-right.'

"And the Signor Waithman in a Common Council, to the infinite delight of his hearers, can, by his wonder-working art, and in a mode the most *uncommon*, lay down conclusions in direct contradiction to his premises, and recommend a *corrupt practice* in contempt and defiance of a *sacred, fundamental principle* of free government!

"Signor Waithman has a peculiar pleasure in acknowledging

the great benefit he has derived from the instructions of his immortal *black Fox*. A Fox endowed with miraculous powers of speech; and he is more particularly thankful for that instruction touching the important point of *parliamentary duration*; because on the only occasion where the said *black fox* was ever known to have publicly given, in debate, his opinion on that question, it amounted to *no opinion at all*; for he declared that, having compared his country's condition, while respectively under *annual, triennial, or under septennial* parliaments, he was unable to decide which in his opinion was best; wherefore Signor Waithman, proud of such a guide; logically infers that triennial parliaments are to be preferred.

"Signor Waithman, having so exclusively profited by his intimate communion with the immortal *black fox*, whose almost forgotten name, like

the straw to the sinking man, is caught at by his almost forgotten party, flatters himself that, if the Whig Noblemen and Country Gentlemen of the *United Kingdom* will rally round this *Triennial* Banner, planted at his Linen Draper's shop in Fleet Street, being a silken *three-coloured* kerchief on a yardwand; and if the said Whig Noblemen and Country Gentlemen will adopt his astonishing discovery for reviving the fraternal societies of *United Englishmen*, *United Scotchmen*, *United Britons* and *United Irishmen*, in one grand *United Phalanx* of Reformers, pulling two different ways and calling for two different objects, the said Whig Noblemen and Country Gentlemen will, in the opinion of the said *Signor Waithman* be soon called into power, by the *united* voice of those who are disgusted by their past, and offended by their present conduct!

"Although *Signor Waithman*

does not pretend that his yardwand, like *Ithuriel's* spear, is endued with every inherent quality for proving by it's touch, whether goods are truly *English*, or of *Foreign* manufacture, yet he is bold to say, that it hath in it a certain mystical property, which in an eminent manner illustrates the doctrine he wishes to inculcate; for as *three feet* make that true English measure, *one yard*, so *three yearly sessions* make that most desirable English measure of legislative duration one *triennial parliament*.

"Glory be to the memory of the Legislators of 1894!"

VICTORY!

I have just a moment to say, and I can hardly write the words, I so tremble with joy: I have only a moment to say, that **THE BILL IS THROWN OUT!** Thus are the Queen's and People's enemies defeated! That innocence, which was before ac-

known by all honest men, is now proclaimed to the world by the House of Lords itself! Where are now the base conspirators? Shall they go unpunished?—This is a glorious day for the people, who have, at last, begun to lay the ax to the root of Corruption. This victory has been achieved by the people with the Queen at their head. God Almighty, I repeat it, sent her here, expressly for our good; and, I hope, that we shall profit from the blessing. *Illuminations* will begin on Monday, I hear.—

All cities, towns and villages ought to illuminate.—I wonder how Castlereagh, Wellington, Scott and Jenkinson now feel!—All congregations will, doubtless, pray for the Queen on Sunday!

A new and complete edition of the PEEP AT THE PEERS, with numerous additions, will be ready in a few days.

Also the LINKS OF THE LOWER HOUSE.